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## New Chiefs of United States



President Warren G. Harding, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Coolidge, and Mr. Coolidge, Vice-President.

The inauguration of President Harding was marked by simple ceremonies in contrast to the elaborate plans that were first proposed for the event. In the course of his inaugural address President Harding said:  
"We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old levels of prices again, because war invariably readjusts compensations and the necessities of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability."

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# Some Little Understood Aspects of the Trouble With British Miners

By HAROLD J. LASKI.

The following article from the Survey, New York, by Harold J. Laski, one-time lecturer at McGill University, is dated from London on March 1, and although events have moved quickly since then in the trouble with the miners, the article possesses points of considerable interest, particularly as these are little-understood here:

**L**ESS than four months have passed since the last coal strike; yet we already seem upon the verge of new and far vaster difficulties in the mining industry. The problem has been precipitated by the announced decision of the government to bring its control of coal to an end on March 31, instead of waiting until the statutory period of August 31.

It is not easy for an outsider to determine the exact reasons which lie behind this decision. In part, undoubtedly, it is a desire to effect some economy in the cost of national administration and thereby to provide some answer to the critics (a growing number) who accuse the government of wastefulness. But, undoubtedly, there are obscurer, though more profound causes.

The mine owners have got tired of regulation they are the men who control government policy; and not a few of them believe that a return to pre-war conditions is possible if they are given a free hand.

## Hard Times Ahead.

Here, as elsewhere, this government is peculiarly responsive to the demands of capital. It is, moreover, clear that there are lean days ahead for the coal industry; and the government may well be desirous of escaping the burden of policy-making it would then be called upon to undertake.

How serious a result de-control would have it is not easy to over-emphasize. In wages, it would bring to a close the Sankey increases of 1919; the increases under the national agreement effected in November, 1920. In organization, it would mean an end of the new system by which wages have been regulated upon a national instead of a district basis; it would bring to an end also the pooling of profits whereby the poorer mines have been able to keep going by sharing in the profits of the richer mines like those in South Wales.

And all this, it must be remembered, at a peculiarly difficult time. The bottom has fallen out of the coal trade, more particularly upon its export side; the cost of production has so largely increased that other industries, like the steel trade, in which the price of fuel is a vital factor, are almost at a standstill.

## What the Miners Say.

With the decline in demand consequent upon an increase in price which, in South Wales, is as much as ten shilling per ton, there is vast unemployment among mines; in South Wales it is estimated that eighty thousand men are unemployed. The owners have calculated that the present unemployment and the depletion of union funds which the November strike effected, make this a peculiarly fortunate time for the revision of all agreements. Their negotiations with the men for a new wage basis have not been successful, so far; the men's insistence on a national basis for wages proving a complete stumbling block. Accordingly, they have decided, when de-control becomes an accomplished fact, to terminate all existing wage agreements and to work upon a day-to-day contract. That, obviously, is the prelude to a national lockout; and if that becomes operative, it may well be the prelude to irreparable disaster.

The miners are passionately opposed to de-control. They point out, with justice, that they have not been consulted in this decision. They urge that it is a deliberate attempt to deprive them of their war gains; and they are undoubtedly prepared to fight it to the last. For it involves the abrogation of two things

which they regard as fundamental: National wage agreements and the treating of the whole British coal field as a unit in relation to ultimate questions of policy.

They demand national agreements on wages because they do not desire the miner working in a rich district to profit at the expense of the miner working in a poorer district. All minima must be national minima; and any colliery manager desiring to discuss wages will have to confront the miners' federation as a whole.

Nor is their attitude upon unification of control less intelligible. If each mine goes back to the old system, it is clear that a number of mines now workable, through the pooling of profits, would cease to be worked; that would lead to unemployment which, in its turn, would greatly decrease the funds of the federation. They have been rendered the more suspicious on this head by the recent policy of the owners upon discharges.

It will be remembered that the agreement arrived at in the strike of 1920 settled a datum line, production above which led to a proportionate increase of wages; while the export trade was good (December and January) that datum line was overpassed and the men got even larger wage increases than they had fought for during the strike.

Since then, the large number of dismissals has made the achievement of the datum line impossible; and the miners find themselves in the same, if not a worse position, than that in which they were before the strike.

## As the Owners See It.

The difficulty of the owners must not be minimized. At the present cost of production, they cannot find a market for coal. The export trade is at vanishing point; Austria cannot buy coal, Russia is not allowed to buy, and France is either getting free coal from Germany or purchasing it at a lower price from America. The domestic trade has naturally diminished with the general slump in trade; and there is, at any rate for the next three months, no prospect of revival.

The wages are the largest item in the cost of production; and the owners not unnaturally contend that until the rate comes down they are unlikely to find a market for their product. They see wages always in terms of price, where the miners see wages not less insistently in terms of prices. Between these views there is an irreconcilable disharmony.

Moreover, in the absence of government control, the owner is, equally naturally, anxious to return to the old system of district regulation for the simple reason that the miners are far less powerful in districts than they are as a single union. Here, as elsewhere, to divide is to govern. And they have a telling argument for their general view of wage reduction in the fact that Mr. Hodges' only proposal for meeting the present slump has been the suggestion of a government subsidy to the coal trade.

That is, in any case, financially impossible at our present state of expenditure; and, beyond that, there is no case for subsidizing coal any more than any other industry. The Lancashire cotton trade, which is in a far worse position, would bitterly and with some reason resent that assistance.

## Back to 1914.

The fact of the matter is that the coal trade has reached the parting of the ways. The owners are determined to return to the halcyon days of 1914, and the men are similarly determined to go forward to some scheme of nationalization. If the men are ultimately successful—there is no prospect of their success while the present government remains in office—we may be able to introduce some measure of stabilization into the coal

industry; if the owners are successful, the history of English coal mining will be a series of strikes until the dislocation of a vital service compels the surrender of the owners.

For we have frankly to face the fact that the miners will no longer work under a system of production for private profit.

Any one who desires to know the causes of their attitude has only to read the evidence tendered to the Sankey Commission.

They may be unwise or selfish or blind or what you will, but this psychological atmosphere is the root fact of the whole problem.

No English statesman has confronted it seriously. Mr. Lloyd George never thinks in terms of principles; he waits until a crisis develops and then makes emotional appeals in the name of national welfare. Mr. Asquith has attacked nationalization on the ground that it means bureaucracy; whereas if he had read Mr. Justice Sankey's report he would have seen that its main importance lies in its avoidance of bureaucracy.

No one who goes among the miners of South Wales, of Scotland, or of Durham, can doubt that they will continue to work without heart for their toil until their aspiration toward self-government is realized. It is not unlikely that the first statesman to capture the imagination of the electorate will be the man who, by recognizing this feeling, translates it into institutional terms.

### Lots of Coal.

Meanwhile it must be admitted that the owners are in a strong strategic position. The existing stocks of coal are normal for the time of year; and, granted the present depression, that means they have stocks on hand to satisfy all foreseeable requirements. They could afford a lockout; partly because the

strain on the miners' funds would make the struggle of dubious value to the latter, partly because the depression is such that a lockout would not mean serious loss to themselves. If they can manoeuvre the miners into a strike, that will, of course, only strengthen their position.

They are assured of the support of the business community. The only idea in the business man's mind at present is the vital need to reduce wages; he says, to be sure, that it will decrease the cost of living, but he wants the reduction first. The owners are assured, too, of the support of the government; for, having forfeited the confidence of labor, it is unlikely that the government will risk the loss of confidence from capital. It is unnecessary, I suppose, to add, that with the conspicuous and honorable exception of the Manchester Guardian, the press is solidly on the owners' side.

### A Struggle Certain.

One other possibility ought to be mentioned. It is possible that pressure will compel the government to continue control until the expiration of the statutory period. In that event the impending struggle will be postponed until the autumn. But it will be postponed only, unless some totally unexpected trade revival makes the owners temporarily willing to conclude a national wage agreement. If the present depression continues, a serious struggle is certain; and it can only be reiterated that the main issues that struggle will involve are the issues which the Sankey Commission was summoned to determine. The real source of the difficulties the coal industry will have to face in the next year is, the war apart, the dishonest evasion by the government of its pledge to stand by the findings that Mr. Sankey reported. We shall pay long and heavily for that evasion.

### LABOR TO RESIST WAGE REDUCTION TO MEET DEFICITS.

A declaration that the Four Big Brotherhoods of Railway Employees would resist efforts of the railroads to overcome their deficits solely by cutting wages has been made by officials of the "Big Four" unions.

Called into conference on the railroad situation with eight bankers who represented owners of \$12,000,000 worth of railroad securities, the union officials representing 600,000 employees declared flatly that the lowering of the wages of the employees was not the only way to bring operating expenses to such a low figure that the companies could make enough money to pay their fixed charges, take a profit, and retire their obligations.

In the formal statement issued by Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and S. Davies Warfield, president of the National Association of Owners of Railroad Securities, the stand of the unions was put this way:

#### General Economies.

"The employees' representation made plain their attitude towards the readjustment of deficits at their sole expense, unaccompanied by comprehensive methods that will lead to general economies."

Some of the union representatives cited alleged instances of waste by the railroads, particularly in rebuilding locomotives and other equipment, and declared that economies could be put into effect that would aid materially in bringing operating expenses far below the revenues.

The conference was secret, and only a few of these instances were cited after the meeting had ended and a formal statement had been issued.

Attacks also were made by the association of railway executives on the ground that its membership was excluded entirely to the 150 class 1 railroads — roads with an annual business of \$1,000,000 or more — and that control of this association was exercised by a small coterie of executives who dictated policies for the entire railroad system of the country. It is understood that some of the security owners acquiesced in part in this criticism.

The formal statement did not disclose just what measure of support the four brotherhoods and their allied organizations would plan, proposed by Mr. Warfield to the Senate's committee on interstate commerce. This plan would restore, in large part, the regional system in effect during the war, create regional boards for the handling of rate questions, and establish a central purchasing agency for railroad supplies.

#### Abrogation of Agreements.

It was intimated that the officers of the railroad unions had listened sympathetically to discussion of this plan, and to other plans proposed as possible agencies for economy in operation.

In this section of the discussion the union men stood firm on their opposition to the demand of the railroads for abrogation of the national agreements.

Pointing out that \$350,000,000 worth of railroad securities matured this year with the companies not earning their fixed charges under present conditions, the security owners declared that the situation was serious and demanded immediate solution.

The union employees acquiesced in this view, and the statement was made that the discussion had not disclosed any "fundamental impasse."

It was asserted also that "it was distinctly recognized by the participants that differences in economic theories have no immediate bearing on the existing emergency and should not prevent immediate consideration of merits."



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# Proportional Representation and the Single Trans- ferable Vote

A SPECIAL committee of members of the Commons has been appointed to carry out the intent of a resolution introduced into Parliament, by J. A. Sexsmith, member for Peterboro East, calling for an investigation of the various forms of proportional representation, with a view to adopting one for use in Federal elections, the resolution being amended, on motion of Hon. J. A. Calder, to include the "single transferable vote" in the scope of the committee's investigation.

## Present Inequalities.

Mr. Sexsmith in his address said that the idea of proportional representation was not new. The system gave all the electors an opportunity to secure representation. The chief evil of the present system was that large sections of the people were not represented. He condemned the present single electoral system, and quoted Mr. Balfour as stating that this system had the effect of ignoring the great masses of the people.

Mr. Sexsmith quoted from election results to show how unrepresentative was a Parliament elected under the present single vote system. In 1904 Quebec had elected 54 Liberals with 144,902 votes, and 11 Conservatives with 11,154 votes.

With proportional representation, thirty Liberals would have been elected and 26 Conservatives.

The average vote required under the system in vogue to elect a Liberal was 2,636, and 10,144 votes was the average number required to elect a Conservative member.

In 1908 there had also been 54 Liberals and 11 Conservatives elected, when proportional representation would have returned, on the vote cast, 38 Liberals and 28 Conservatives.

In 1904 when the issue facing the country was the building of the National Transcontinental Railway, the people of Quebec had elected 54 supporters of the project and 11 who were opposed to it.

Under proportional representation, that railway system would never have been put through, and Canada would have been developed on safe and sane lines.

## Present System Wrong.

Under the present system of voting, farmers and labor were not given their proper representation. He had no sympathy with the idea that the farmers should now take control of the Government of Canada. If he had his way, said Mr. Sexsmith, there would be no parties. No man should represent any one class. Otherwise Parliament could not fail to be unrepresentative of the whole people.

Mr. Sexsmith quoted British par-

liamentarians in support of proportional representation, and said the present system in Canada worked against unity.

It resulted to-day in Orange, Toronto being set against Catholic Quebec, and in the gathering of votes by the glad hand system, with all its attendant evils.

## Represent the Minorities.

Levi Thomson (Qu'Appelle) strongly supported the resolution. He referred to the last provincial elections in Manitoba, in which proportional representation had been tried out in the city of Winnipeg, and stated that the system had proven its worth there. One trouble with the present system was that candidates were frequently elected by a minority of the voters in their constituency.

Three Ontario members, at present in the House of Commons, were sometimes taunted with the fact that they were minority representatives. This was not their fault. It was the fault of the system under which they were elected.

The tendency of Parliament to split up into groups was advanced by Mr. Thomson as another reason for adopting proportional representation. Every elector in Canada, he said, was entitled to exercise his choice to the full limit. Proportional representation was one of the planks of the Progressive party, and this party was opposed to class rule.

## Wanted a Committee.

Dr. J. W. Edwards (Frontenac) said that he was conscious of defects in the present system of holding elections, but he was not sufficiently familiar with proportional representation to say that it would be better. He would have to vote against the resolution, because it expressly advocated the adoption of proportional representation. He would be glad to support the resolution if it merely called for an appointment of a committee to investigate the matter.

Major Andrews (Winnipeg Centre) was also keenly favorable to an improvement in the electoral system along the lines of proportional representation. The people of Canada, he said, were not satisfied with the old system.

They had split themselves into groups, let them be, for Heaven's sake, intelligent groups. The recent Manitoba elections had shown that oftentimes members represented minorities rather than majorities.

Citing Emerson, Manitoba, Mr. Andrews said that the farmers had elected their candidate in the provincial election with 989 votes; the Government polled 756; and the Conservatives 925. Thus piled against the elected candidate there were some 1,600 votes.

In the next Dominion election it was entirely possible that a House would be returned which would not represent more than one-third of the country.

## Question Needs Study.

Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Immigration, said that election methods had long been subject to discussion. Undoubtedly a large body of public opinion favored changes. Mr. Calder was inclined to believe, however, that most of the members had not yet given as close a study to the question as would warrant their expressing an opinion on proportional representation at this time.

He believed that the whole matter should be threshed out by a committee, and accordingly moved that the motion be amended to read that a special committee be appointed to consider the subject of proportional representation and the single transferable vote, and the desirability of one or the other being adopted by the House.

J. J. Denis (Joliette) believed that proportional representation was simply a milestone in the road of political evolution. It was only a relatively new idea. Many countries had adopted it in some degree.

At the next general election there would be three great parties, and, with the Labor party, four. Under the present system, taking a constituency in which there were four candidates running, each representing a group, in many cases the man elected would fail to represent a bare majority of his constituents.

## Political Evils.

John Harold (Brant) supported the resolution as amended. It would be of great benefit in the forthcoming three-cornered fights. Proportional representation would do away with present political evils. The present Ontario Government held the least number of votes of any of the three parties in the Provincial House. Proportional representation was being experimented with in several municipalities. One trial would not be sufficient. The Government should go slow. He felt the committee, if appointed, would come to a wise decision.

Hon. T. A. Crerar was entirely in sympathy with the principle of proportional representation. There was much satisfaction with it in countries where it was in force, notably Holland, Belgium and Sweden. The same was true of the city of Winnipeg, where the people were highly satisfied.

W. F. Cockshutt (Brantford) characterized proportional representation as "folly." It was entirely unsuited to the British system of government, which was that the majority shall rule. Proportional representation was a help to class movements. He understood the western Progressives had failed to carry proportional representation in their own convention.

J. F. Reid (MacKenzie) asked in what province this had occurred.

Hon. Mr. Crerar said that proportional representation had been tried

in Progressive conventions, where it had worked admirably.

Mr. Cockshutt lamented that the provincial legislature contemplated experimenting in six ridings. Proportional representation was cumbersome. He stood for one party for the general advantages of Canada, and not for several classes advocating fads. Under proportional representation, faddists could secure an internal working arrangement and succeed to government and foist their beliefs on the country. The proposition should not be entertained.

## Electors Not Represented.

A. R. McMaster (Brome) took exception to the statements of Mr. Cockshutt, which he characterized as typically Tory. The present system did not give adequate representation. Mr. McMaster cited the last provincial elections in Nova Scotia and British Columbia, where a large number of electors were not represented.

Dr. Steele (South Perth) was opposed to the resolution, which was an attempt to change the system of government. Under the present system the British Empire had been built up. This was sufficient proof of the efficiency of the present system. Men supporting the national policy must be elected, as against the class groups. It would be impossible to build up a great nation under proportional representation. The greatest men the Empire had produced were against the idea.

## Mr. King Approves.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was in sympathy with proportional representation, and congratulated the Government on its stand. He was a member of the select committee of the House in 1910-1911 which investigated proportional representation. At that time the House had been in favor of it.

British government was an effort to give representation to all classes.

Proportional representation gave added opportunities for this.

The amendment should receive the unanimous support of the House.

Mr. King referred to the fate of his motions for information on the railway situation and early by-elections, and said that proportional representation was a forward movement along the same lines.

Mr. Sexsmith accepted the Government amendment and hoped the committee would be appointed.

The amendment was adopted; the amended resolution carried and the following were appointed as a special committee: W. J. Blair (Battle River), Hon. J. A. Calder, Edmund Proulx (Prescott), J. A. Currie (Simcoe North), A. L. Davidson (Digby and Annapolis), J. J. Denis (Joliette), John Harold (Brant), R. J. Manion (Fort William), A. R. McMaster (Brome), J. P. Molloy (Provencher), F. F. Pardee (Lambton West), J. A. Sexsmith (Peterboro West), T. E. Simpson (Algoma), J. H. Sinclair (Antigonish and Guysboro), Levi Thomson (Qu'Appelle), and H. P. Whidden (Brandon).

# Is Canada to Bar the Door?

The following article is the view of the Employers' Association, of Manitoba, on the immigration question.

**L**ABOR leaders and the Labor Press want immigration stopped. Lobbyists have been busy at Ottawa for some time picturing before members the fearful results in unemployment that would likely follow if Canada does not bar the door to immigration. The unemployment situation is not a new problem. Winnipeg and Canada have been dealing with it annually for the past twenty years. Any excess in unemployment at the present time is due to the fact that the public stopped buying goods made dear by too high a cost of production, in which labor figures largely.

## Abundance of Work.

There is abundance of work in Canada and there will be plenty for everybody to do — immigrants and all — for years to come. The present difficulty is that capital will not gamble on the present high cost of production. Therefore, it is not the scarcity of work that is causing the trouble but the scarcity of capital.

The propaganda that Labor leaders have been spreading in the Labor Press is of an entirely selfish and class distinction. The phase of the immigration question considered by them, is how will immigration affect Labor supply, or to be more concrete, how will it affect wages? Labor leaders speak of possible immigration aggregates that will likely flood Canada, but they never eliminate the 30 to 40 per cent. of women, school children, and under, included in immigration totals, that do not enter the labor market.

Statistics show that of every twenty male immigrants over 21 years of age, the average is about three skilled laborers, ten unskilled workers, and the other seven of professional and miscellaneous occupations.

## What of the Past.

What would Canada have done in pre-war years without immigration? Where will Canada be if the resolution now before the Ottawa House "that all immigration be suspended until a normal condition of affairs is established," is considered.

There is a general impression that the only immigrants Canada needs, are those going directly on the farms. That is true, but will the immigrant coming to Canada go directly to the farm? Mr. W. S. Bennett, member of the United States Immigration Commission, who worked two and a half years investigating the question of immigration abroad, challenges any statement that the cities are the wrong place for the immigrant, so far as the immigrant is concerned.

Mr. Bennett goes on to say that the Immigration Commission found the fact to be that 98 per cent. of the immigrants in a general way, and sometimes very specifically,

know what employment they are going into before they leave their homes, their wives and other dependents.

## Why Go to the City?

The reason why the immigrant goes to the cities, Mr. Bennett explains, is that he has a better chance to earn a little ready money and that there are also opportunities for him, if he is of a foreign tongue, to talk to men of his own people, who speak his language, which is most essential during the time that he is learning the English language and the local situation. "If the opportunities on the farm are greater than those offered in the city, the immigrant will soon find it out and act accordingly," says Mr. Bennett.

Mr. Bennett asks the question should anyone blame the newly arrived immigrant for going to the place where he finds compatriots, a place of worship, and helpful surroundings for him to get the right start in a new land. If he cannot speak English, he has an opportunity in the first few months to gain a wider knowledge of Canadian conditions from people of his own birth who are always to be found in the cities and towns. If when the immigrant first lands he is not trained or even equipped to go out on the prairies to settle down and get a living from the soil, what is the use of sending him out there to become a disgruntled and dissatisfied citizen?

## Immigration and Industry.

Immigration is a problem of great consequence to the people of Canada to-day. Immigration has a great influence on industry and on our prosperity which is the basis of revenue generally, should seriously protest against any governmental action which would prevent the entry of desirable immigration into Canada. A constructive policy of selective immigration is needed and it is up to Canada to establish a constructive policy based on a careful examination of conditions here and abroad to the end that it may safeguard our interests and promote the general welfare, regardless of any one class.

## Canada Needs Men.

Canada needs new people, needs them badly, on the farms and in all lines of industrial activity where it is now almost impossible to get men to do the great amount of necessary rough labor to keep industry moving. Certainly, there are people who should not be permitted to come into the country, because in the very nature of things their admittance means conflict and radical social disturbance in our midst. Canada already has its share of this class.

Canada is not the congested country that Labor leaders would have people think. Canada covers an area of 3,603,910 square miles. Now let us deduct one-third, or say 1,200,000 square miles of what might be classed at present, as undesirable or unproductive areas.

This leaves a basis of approximately two and a half million square miles. Canada could absorb the entire population of the British Isles (England, Scotland and Ireland) and then have 350 less people to the square mile than now exists in the Old Land.

## Four to the Square Mile.

Placing our present population at 10,000,000, that means an average of 4 people per square mile in Canada.

If this two-thirds of Canada were as densely populated at France, we would have a population of approximately 482,500,000 people and yet France is not a densely populated country.

It has substantially a thrifty, farming population; it has forests and large unoccupied areas. If this two-thirds of Canada were as thickly settled as the United Kingdom, we would have a population of over 65,000,000 people. Taking Canada's greatest immigration year (1913) as a basis for computation, it would take over 250 years for this country to become as thickly settled as even the United States — not counting the natural increase.

## Look to the Future.

We don't have to go abroad for comparisons. Let us take the provinces of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. If the four Western provinces were as thickly settled as these two Eastern provinces, we would have a population West of the Great Lakes of over 27,000,000 people and to settle this many people it would take above 135 years with as great an influx as we had to the West during the manner years of 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914 — not even taking into account the natural increase.

Here is the situation in so far as Western Canada is concerned. Speaking in round numbers, Manitoba has but six people to every square mile, Saskatchewan, two to the square mile, Alberta less than two, and British Columbia practically only one to the square mile. Giving every possible allowance for waste land and reducing our square mileage down to productive areas the very suggestion that immigration should be curtailed in any restrictive capacity at all, permits of no basis for argument.

## Room for All.

The population per square mile for Great Britain and Ireland is 374. The population of France taken by the census of 1913, gave 40,412,220 or a population of 193 persons to the square mile. In 1912 the population of Belgium was 7,510,418 and the population per square mile was 658 persons. The population of the German Empire in Europe in 1911, was 60,100,000, or a population of 311 to the square mile.

In face of the above, is there any wonder why the people of Great Britain, of France, and of Belgium, should not be turning their eyes to a country such as Canada where the possibilities for the future are so great? Is there any reason why as a part of the Great British Em-

pire, we should close our gates to the people of Great Britain especially, or to the people of France, Belgium or the United States, from whence so many desirable citizens have come to us. In the interests of the country, we should have a constructive and not a restrictive policy of immigration.—Employers' Association of Manitoba.

## MARRIED LIFE.

"Now, you see!" exclaimed Mrs. Gabb triumphantly. "It says here that a man spends less money after he is married than before! I suppose you'll try to deny that!"

"Oh, no, I won't!" growled Mr. Gabb. "He hasn't got it to spend."

# Loew's

## THEATRES

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(From Our London Correspondent).  
Glasgow.

**T**HE present industrial depression continues to spread in all spheres. Glasgow is being hit very hard, and another of the big works of the city is added to the already long list of affected firms. The Caledonian Locomotive Works, Springburn, have put their works on short time. To the man in the street, signs are evident everywhere that a serious breakdown has occurred in our industrial system. Treks of workers to Labor Exchanges and the appeals of Lord Provosts for unemployment funds, are visible signs that the industrial system has suffered dislocation. Nor is there any evidence that we have reached the dead-end of the depression.

Each week records further accessions of workers from big establishments to the ranks of unemployment. This is notably so at Beardmore's, Parkhead, where that extensive portion of the works to the west of Duke Street is about to close down almost entirely, involving the suspension of probably 1,500 men. The firm is unable to say when it will resume operations there.



James Gibson

The closing down of "Dixon's Blazes" in Glasgow is an intimation that the iron trade in this area is in an unhealthy condition. Stoppage of blast furnaces is resorted to only when long suspension is imminent.

## Work Going Abroad.

It is significant that, with the general collapse of the vast Scottish steel industry, German, Belgian, and Danish steelmakers are offering materials for delivery on the Clyde at prices about one-half the rates of Lanarkshire products.

The shipbuilding industry has been showing signs for many months of coming into bad times.

Cancellations of orders have been proceeding for six months; but still there is a good deal of work on hand that will keep the yards going for a considerable period. Here, however, much work is being lost by the joiners' strike.

Incompleted ships are being removed from the builders' hands and taken to Belgian, French, Dutch, and even American yards, it is believed, to be completed by foreign workmen.

The latest example of this pitiable loss of work is the notification at Dalmuir that the big steamer Cameronia is to go elsewhere to be made ready for sea.

A saddening commentary on this unfortunate loss of work is the announcement that the Dutch Government has just decided to suspend the eight-hour-day law so as to permit their workmen to feast themselves on the orders coming in from other countries.

While we are shedding men in thousands and putting them on to doles and unemployment benefits, the Dutch people have agreed to work two hours longer to overtake the excessive amount of work that has fallen into their hands.

## Loss of Work.

The Government will decontrol the mining industry—an anticipation of events by five months as sanctioned by agreement. State subsidies to the collieries will then terminate. These subsidies at present amount to something like \$10,000,000 weekly. The sequel to the stoppage of such vast financial support must obviously mean the upsetting of the entire economics of the coal trade.

The collieries, dependent upon sales only for revenue, will be compelled to readjust miners' wages and costs of production so as to make these square with selling prices. Unless in the interval readjustment mutually takes place between mine-owners and miners, the coal trade must inevitably be brought to a virtual standstill, and the general industry of the country, already in a perplexed condition, will, as a consequence, suffer further disorganization.

## General Depression.

This month is accordingly momentous to our industrial position. The significance to the whole country of the happenings of this month are, I think, very improperly understood. If readjustment of the coal industry to a paying basis alone were the issue, things, obviously troublesome enough, might not be reckoned so very bad. But even if the coal situation be so happily manipulated as to readjust its prices and costs so as to liquidate the loss of the \$500,000,000 State subsidy, the general situation of the other industries, already depressed, will not be one whit improved.

Even at present prices at which coal is selling to ironmasters, steelmakers and other trades consuming large quantities of fuel, we can see from what is happening in these industries that we are a long way from rectification of the general depression.

## In the Steel Works.

The story of depression told at the steel works, which come next in the industrial link of production, is equally unsatisfactory. There have been constant suspensions of employees since the New Year at every steel work in the West of Scotland. Official figures tell us that 40,000 men are idle in Glasgow area. The

shipyards, it is true, are still fairly busy. But they are completing orders for which no "replaces" are to be had. The berths, now occupied, when once freed, will, in many cases, remain vacant until the time comes when shipowners see their way to come back to the market for new contracts.

In these great key industries, constituting the backbone of the industrial welfare of the West of Scotland, the cause of the depression and unemployment is the same. It is high costs. When ships, which could be built in pre-war days for \$2,500,000, cost now over \$10,000,000, we need not cavil at shipowners cutting the painter and refusing to build more ships. And so, to refer back the whole situation to the decontrol of coal, if the mine-owners should succeed in readjusting their wages and costs of production to save, say, the \$1,500,000,000 (which they are going to lose by cessation of the State subsidies), the price of coal will remain just what it is. In such a case, the pig iron and the steelmakers will not want coal any more than they do at present.

We must steadily keep this point before us in ascertaining where we stand industrially as a nation—that readjustment of the coal situation, so as to save the \$500,000,000 forfeited in subsidies, will leave the depressed iron, steel, and shipbuilding industries just as they are. Their productions will stand at the old prices, for which, at the moment, they cannot secure contracts. Steelmakers and shipbuilders are virtually faced with the solution of precisely the same problem as the coal-owners. How are they to reduce the cost of their productions so as to sell at prices that are marketable. Shipbuilders have also to get rid of the system of "time and lime."

The shipbuilding industry needs complete readjustment of its methods. There are a great many other problems to be tackled, no doubt, if we wish to see our industries on their legs again and unemployment banished. There is the question of the opening up of Europe's foreign trade.

## European Credits.

The problem of the re-establishment of European credits, so as to permit nations to resume trading with each other and to allow Britain to get her share is intimately bound up with that of solving our depressed industrial conditions. It is one, however, for the politicians, and I leave it to them meanwhile.

To revert back to the situation in the basic British industry—coal—what do we find there? Mr. Smillie has, I think, stated the position fairly accurately from the point of view of a person associated with the mines. Decontrol, he says, will mean the drastic cutting down of the wages of the miners. There is the only other alternative—an increase in the price of fuel to such a height that nobody would purchase. Mr. Smillie is perfectly correct when he says that nobody could



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buy the coal produced under decontrolled conditions if costs of production remain unaltered.

I might here interpolate my review with the remark that it is a very obvious deduction from the whole situation that the policy of the miners' leaders in repeatedly pressing up wages—the last increase especially at the literal point of the bayonet—was extremely short-sighted.

## Must Find Remedy.

The increase may have been warranted on actual figures ruling in the coal market; but Mr. Smillie and his friends should have foreseen that the phenomenal prices obtainable for exported coal could not continue.

In any event, so soon as the phenomenal prices disappeared the same arguments that secured the advance should have been found in quick advocacy of dropping the increase. I shall not, however, further press this point.

The coal industry is in a shockingly bad way economically and the real problem of the nation is to see what is to happen and what is to be done to remedy matters.

—James Gibson.

# The Canadian Railroader

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GEORGE PIERCE, Editor

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### Distribution of Foodstuffs

**G**OVERNMENT enterprise is always and everywhere a failure, according to the business man who is not at the moment looking for government assistance for his own pet enterprise.

Private enterprise is a failure, according to the working-man who believe everybody should be guaranteed a job at good wages and a self-contained cottage without lodgers, and who would not connect with a pay envelope if his employer was not an enterprising individual.

So there you are—up against a big problem which is not solved by the Socialist's assertion that governments, being the executive committee of the capitalist class, cannot be expected to handle their enterprises with any more efficiency than capitalists handle private enterprises. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the Socialists add that there is no such thing as private enterprise to-day, since we live in an age of social production, a multitude of workers combining their labors to produce a commodity, which enters into a distributive process over which they have no control.

If governments always made a failure of their enterprises the people would share the responsibility inasmuch as Governments are supposed to represent the people—which sometimes perhaps they do rather inadequately. But governments do not always make blunders. Take the British government's system of food control, inaugurated during the war and only abandoned on March 31. Some people in this country apparently acquired the impression that the British Ministry of Food had made a mess of things. Assertions have been made that the British government had to tax the wealthy in order to provide cheap food for the masses. Most cable news from Britain comes through American channels—and unfortunately Canadian editors do not always check the brief and often misleading cable news by reference to British exchanges.

C. A. McCurdy, Food Controller, gave a review recently of the work of the Food Ministry which after over four years service laid down nearly all its powers except wheat control on March 31. The British Food Ministry handled \$6,000,000,000 worth of wheat, \$1,615,000,000 worth of sugar, and \$6,000,000,000 worth of other foodstuffs. In addition to this enormous total of \$13,615,000,000, the Ministry bought \$1,250,000,000 of foodstuff for the Allies. In one month 92,000 tons of wheat were sunk by German submarines, and in one week 3,000,000 lbs. of bacon and 4,000,000 lbs. of cheese were lost in the same way. At times

the Ministry subsidized retailers in order to keep down prices of various foodstuffs for the fact that Britain came to rely on this continent for 90 per cent. of the bacon required seems to have been appreciated by the bacon barons.

Nevertheless, Mr. McCurdy claims, the Ministry on its total transactions had a profit of \$5,000,000. The largest business organization, as the Ministry became, with agents in every country, showed administrative expenses of 66 cents for every \$100 of food sold, as compared with the co-operative societies showing of \$1.98. The Ministry of Food's profit on turn-over was one-tenth of one per cent., while the co-operative societies showed a profit on turn-over of 2 per cent.

It is worth recalling that the Board of Commerce of Canada was satisfied when retailers claimed they needed a profit of 33 1-3 per cent on turn-over.

—Colin McKay.

THE CANADIAN RAILROADER is a carrier and interpreter of the news and views of the common people.

### Mr. Atterbury Gives a Good Lead

**“Y**OU might just as well take the ten commandments and set them up as principles for protecting employees and the employers right to organize as these rules laid down by the National War Labor Board,” declared Mr. W. W. Atterbury, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, at the United States Railroad Board hearing in Chicago a short time ago. “For instance, ‘Thou shalt not steal.’ It is stealing for a man to take an hour's pay and not give an hour's work for it.”

For Mr. Atterbury, good man that he is, to be found quoting scripture is not in itself surprising. In a labor dispute if you can bolster up your cause by biblical quotations you are on very safe ground. But the trick has been played so often that the public is beginning to wonder whether ‘Render unto Caesar,’ ‘Servants obey your masters,’ and those other scriptural injunctions so frequently dragged out by employers and their agents, were really and truly intended in their original sense to mean that trade unionists and workpeople generally should accept without question such rates of pay as employers may see fit to allow.

If it is stealing for a man to take an hour's pay and not give an hour's work for it, (and what constitutes a standard hour's work in any given line is a thing almost impossible of definition, as Mr. Atterbury must be well aware), then into what class does Mr. Atterbury propose to place those people who live entirely on ‘unearned increment,’ and who in return for regular pay give no service of any kind whatever? These must be felons of a very dangerous type. We are indeed rather indebted to Mr. Atterbury for having raised the point and even gone so far as to provide a background of scripture for it.

For while the case of the workman who scamps is bad enough it dwindles into insignificance compared with the enormity of the offences committed daily by holders of stocks, bonds, mortgages, and other interest-bearing instruments—to say nothing of those persons whose rates of pay per hour are so monstrously inflated, on the basis of any sane and rational standard of living, that no human being in the compass of sixty minutes could come within a mile of rendering full value in exchange. It does not matter so much about the small fry; they can wait. It is the big fellows we should get after without delay. Why not make a start by a little investigation of Mr. Atterbury's own case? Possibly, as the party who has raised such an interesting point, he will be public-spirited enough to come forward and tell the world exactly how much he earns and what he does for it.

—George Daniels.

### LAW OF THE PAY ENVELOPE.

The pay envelope determines our condition of living to a far greater extent than the law of the land. It determines the kind of home we shall live in, the kind of clothes we shall wear, the kind of food we shall eat, the kind of education we can give to our children, our pleasures

and our health largely. Statistics prove that health is largely dependent on the quality and quantity of food consumed and the conditions of sanitation existing in the home and the place of employment.—John P. Frey, editor International Moulders' Journal.



Mr. Lloyd George visited Birmingham and received the freedom of the city. The Premier delivered an important speech chiefly with regard to the revision of the peace treaties.

The Government has agreed to permit the mining of coal for domestic purposes but not for sale on Crown lands in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Yukon and Northwest territories, and the railway belt in British Columbia.

To show their interest in Chinese famine relief the locomotive engineers of Grand Trunk Division No. 118 unanimously agreed to handle without charge any of the trains carrying wheat and other relief commodities.

#### MAKING SURE.

"Do you think your father will forgive us for eloping?" "I'm sure he will," answered the bride. "How can you be so sure?" "Well, you see, dear, I felt a little nervous about it, so I asked him before we started."

He took his car apart, did Ben, And thought he was in clover: But when he put it back again, He had ten parts left over.

#### INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

Maximum rates of pay for a majority of the building trades were fixed at a meeting of the Builders Exchange as follows: Unskilled building laborers 40c per hour; carpenters 65c; bricklayers 90c; plasterers 75c; painters 60c; cement finishers 60c; stonemasons 60c to 85c. From May 1 stonecutters will receive maximum rates of 75c and planer men 60c per hour.

Surveys to extend the T. and N. O. Railway north from Cochrane towards James Bay will be gone ahead with immediately and it is planned to proceed with the first 70 miles next fall.

That the eight hour day will soon be the rule on the farm as in other trades was the opinion expressed by the Immigration Committee of Elgin County Board of Trade, and County Clerk McKay advocated the eight hour system as a means of solving the farm labor problem.

Twenty-six residents of Lisgar, South Durham and Richmond in the Eastern Townships are under arrest in connection with the looting of freight cars on the Grand Trunk Railway when goods to the value of \$45,000 were stolen articles ranging from canned goods to a piano.

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## Page Labor in Relation to the American Ideal

(From The New Republic).

SOME of the leading business men of the country have been recently serving up to their smaller colleagues a great deal of advice and example about the best way in which to deal with their employees. Most of it, we are sorry to say, has been unenlightened and mischievous.

Instead of offering advice and setting an example which will promote the productive efficiency of labor and build a live and let live relationship between employer and employee in a background of mutual confidence, these business men have done for the most part precisely the opposite. Their advice has looked in the direction of utilizing for the exclusive benefit of the employing class the existing wave of business depression.

It has tended to teach the American wage-earner the old deplorable lesson that the management of American business will find reasons for ignoring his interests and his wishes except in so far as he has power to insist on their recognition.

### Extravagance and Waste.

During the period from 1915 to 1920 business was active, prices increasing, the demand for labor abundant and production on a large scale, almost regardless of cost, a matter of public necessity. It was inevitable under such circumstances that extravagance and waste should invade the labor processes of production just as they did the processes of management, of distribution and price-fixing.

It was also inevitable and within limits desirable that when the reaction in business set in the employers should use their improved bargaining power to root out the waste in the labor process and to improve labor efficiency. But if they had been wise, they would, during this costly and difficult period of readjustment, have proved in every practicable way their solicitude for the welfare of the unemployed and used their ingenuity to convince labor of its interest in voluntarily increasing industrial prosperity and productivity.

This they could have done by consulting with their employees about the methods of eliminating waste,

by opening their books and explaining why a temporary reduction in wages might be desirable and what beneficial results it promised to bring about, by promising to restore wages as soon as conditions permitted and by scrupulously respecting and even encouraging any disposition on the part of their employees to organize, to develop representative institutions and to take an active interest in their relationship to their industry. But instead of using their recovered power with moderation and for constructive purposes, the leading employers of the country have in general committed the same old mistakes in the same old way.

By their dictatorial methods they have once more associated in the minds of their employees productive efficiency with lower wages, with unemployment and with the usual disregard of the wage-earner's wishes and consent. What is worse they have seized upon prevalent unemployment and the comparative helplessness of labor to start an "open shop" campaign, the object of which is clearly to root organized labor out of the American industrial system.

### An Important Report.

Considering the popularity of this mischievous advice and example and the headway which the "open shop" campaign has obtained, we are glad to call attention to one important piece of testimony of a very different kind.

Recently the Committee on Industrial Relations of the Merchants' Association of New York, composed of such men as Gerhard M. Dahl, Vice-President of the Chase National Bank, E. K. Hall, Vice-President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Walter C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and Owen D. Young, Vice-President and General Counsel of the General Electric Company, has issued a report which favors a policy of considerate adjustment with labor on the part of organized business.

The report begins by pointing out the joker in the "open shop" campaign. The establishment or operation of an "open shop" should not, so the report says, "in any way affect the employees' right to join or

not to join a labor union or any other organization seeking by lawful means to promote the interest of the industrial workers." Yet we all know that it actually operates to prevent the spread of unionism.

The "open shop," as it exists in the plants of the Steel Corporation and elsewhere throughout the country, is a shop from which union organizers are excluded, in which an employee who joins a union is usually discharged and blacklisted and in which the management insinuates labor spies into its plant in order to discover whether or not there is any surreptitious tendency to unionization.

The Committee of the Merchants' Association does well, consequently, to "deplore the disposition of some employers who are using the term 'open shop' to work towards a condition of the closed non-union shop by discrimination against union men."

The Committee not only condemns the closed non-union shop of the Steel Corporation and its imitators, but it throws the weight of its influence in opposition to the economic objects which the "open shop" campaign is intended to bring about.

They believe "it would be most unfortunate if the employers used their present advantage only to abuse it, merely to penalize labor for its misuse of power or to fortify themselves for another test of strength. Such a policy would mean a return to the methods which are largely responsible for present unsatisfactory conditions."

Employers should utilize their present position to lay the foundations of permanent industrial stability." This passage is, considering the source from which it comes, remarkably candid. It frankly traces the "misuse of power" of which labor may have been guilty during the past few years to a previous misuse of power on the part of the mass of employers. By so doing it inferentially fastens on the employers the primary responsibility for the grievances and unrest of the wage-earners, for their consequent indifference to productive efficiency and for the ensuing industrial conflict and misunderstanding.

To the same extent it puts up to them the task of devising changes in the existing methods of dealing with their employees which will diminish the waste, friction, discontent and frustration.

### Absurd and Dangerous.

No doubt there are many enlightened and public spirited business men who would fully agree with this report of the Committee on Industrial Relations of the Merchants' Association. It is probably only a minority of American industrial leaders who cordially approve of the "open shop" campaign and believe in its absurd and dangerous attempt to impute sole responsibility for industrial unrest and inefficiency to organized labor. But this minority is aggressive, energetic, vocal and self-confident. It controls most of



The latest photograph of "Bob" Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who is clearly beginning to show the effects of his long, bitter fight for the improvement of the working and living conditions of the miners. He is not nearly as robust and vigorous as he was a few years ago, and is beginning to take a secondary place in active leadership, though not in the pride and esteem of the men for whom he has labored since he was a pit lad.

the associations of business men throughout the country.

During the big labor disputes of 1919 it determined the policy of the Coal Operators and the Steel Corporation. At the first national industrial conference of that year it dictated the attitude of the employers' representatives and prevented the adoption of any programme of adjustment.

At the present time it proposes to use the economic power which the business depression has placed in

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warfare which is being waged by their business associates, they will suffer in the end from the usual fate of neutrals and non-combatants. They will be forced to bear the burden of a conflict in which they do not believe and which if their spirit could prevail might well be avoided. For warfare it is coming to be.

The "open shop" campaigners are far more successful promoters of irreconcilable class conflict than are the labor unionists, the socialists or the communists.

By identifying their class propaganda and their policy of class exploitation with "Americanism," they are slowly teaching the wage-earners to envisage America, not as a Promised Land for the dispossessed worker, but as a land whose institutions and rulers are pledged to prevent the building up of a body of prosperous, contented, independent, public-spirited and alert wage-earning citizens.

#### The Reward of Work.

Many good American citizens are unfortunately allowing the early vision of America as a land which guaranteed to the unpropertied worker a favorable opportunity in life to drop out of their minds. They are so obsessed by the dangers of subversive agitators that American—the hands of the employing class to compromise the wage-earners' standard of living, to take away his slender margin of security, to break his independence of spirit, and to confuse in his mind productive efficiency with economic exploitation.

#### Aggressive Class Warfare.

It is of the utmost importance, consequently, that the business men who share the enlightened and statesmanlike opinions of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Merchants' Association should get together for the purpose of giving more carrying power to their convictions.

Unless they take some effective steps to resist the aggressive classism has come to mean in their minds merely the forcible suppression of what they take to be anti-Americanism.

The leaflets, circulated by the Committee on American Ideals of the United States Chambers of Commerce, for instance, are concerned chiefly with the plots of communists and I. W. W.'s and with suggestions for police protection and espionage. No one could guess from their contents that the spokesmen for America had once included among American ideals the vision of their country as a land in which a worker could obtain independence and security as the reward of his work, in which popular discontent was taken as an evidence of genuine grievances rather than malicious agitation and in which society was based on a feeling of mutual confidence and toleration.

No doubt it is easy and tempting to exaggerate the importance of this kind of alarmist propaganda. Justice Holmes's dictum that the best way of curing the effervescence of a bottle of champagne is to uncork

it and let it go flat, applies to patrioteers as well as to communists. But unfortunately the kind of Americanism which is converting the Promised Land into a country which defends its integrity with an army of policemen and spies does not merely express itself in words.

It controls the labor policy of great industries and great associations of employers.

It influences the decisions of the courts, legislature and political parties.

It is often fierce and powerful enough to reduce its opponents to silence and to obtain its way, not as the result of free discussion and honest experiment, but of terror.

It poisons the minds of its victims as well as of its advocates.

If it is to be defeated and discredited without violence, the task will have to be undertaken by people, belonging to the same class as its advocates — men who understand its fallacies and who still cherish the vision of America as a Promised Land for human beings whose property consists chiefly of their willingness and their ability to work.

#### BRITISH NATION WINNING THROUGH.

(Robert Blatchford in Sunday Chronicle, London).

The disquieting signs we see around us, the clashing and fermentings, which suggest to the timid the approach of chaos, are due to the swell and eddies made by the new knowledge and the new thought in the two or three decades before the war.

Demos is awakening, and stretching his mighty limbs, science is a young giant thrilled with life and energy. Old dogmas, old prejudices, old errors, creak and shiver in their decay. But we have still the old country and the old race out of which all our past and present achievements have grown.

We shall not perish in an insane fratricide, nor split in mad ruin and combustion. No, we shall win through.

This century is not a degenerate son of its predecessors, as some dreamers say, neither is it the crown and pinnacle of human evolution. We have much to learn, much to forget, and much to be ashamed of.

worship and deify our ancestors, need not mistrust or undervalue our descendants.

That was a good saying of Ingersoll's; "The time to be happy is now; the way to be happy is by giving happiness to others."

#### STOP! LOOK!! LISTEN!!!

A novel warning sign has been erected at a railroad crossing in San Antonio consisting of a platform eight feet above the ground, upon which is placed a wrecked automobile which figured in a fatal accident of that road some time ago and which resulted in the death of two occupants of the car.

A sign under the platform bears the words, "Did the Driver of This Car Stop, Look, Listen?"

#### TRADE UNIONS ARE EXACTLY WHAT WORKERS MAKE THEM.

The trade unions are the reflex in organized, crystallized form of the best thought, activity and hopes of the wage workers.

They represent the aggregate expression of discontent of labor with existing economic, social and political misrule.

The trade unions are exactly what the wage workers are, and can be made exactly what they may please to make them.

Active or sluggish; keen or dull; narrow or broad-gauged — just as the members are intellectual or otherwise.

But, represent as they may either of these alternatives, the trade union is the best form of organization for the toilers to protect their present interests, as well as to work out their salvation from all wrong.

#### SMALLEST SCREW ALMOST INVISIBLE.

The smallest screws in the world, used by watchmakers, are so tiny that they look like dust. An ordinary thimble could hold about 100,000 of them. Some of the smallest are only four one-thousandths of an inch across and can hardly be seen by the naked eye.

#### INTO THE GARBAGE CAN.



"Let the Soviet savages know what labor of the civilized world thinks of their bestial system."—From the manifesto of the American Federation of Labor.

#### STEADY EMPLOYMENT.

(From the Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie).

High wages are well enough, but they are not to be compared with steady employment. . . .

I am told the men in our day and even to this day (1914) prefer two to three turns, but three turns are sure to come.

Eight hours will be the rule — eight for work, eight for sleep, and eight for rest and recreation.

Labor is usually helpless against capital. The employer, perhaps, decides to shut up the shops; he ceases to make profits for a short time. There is no change in his habits, food, clothing, pleasures—no agonizing fear of want. Contrast this with his workman, whose lessening means of subsistence torment him. He has few comforts, scarcely the necessities for his wife and children in health and for the sick little ones no proper treatment. It is not capital we need to guard, but helpless labor.

But our children are of our stock, and their children kill nor bring dishonor on the name. If we need not

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famous for her  
baking—maybe she  
uses Five Roses.



# Canadian's Views of the Japanese Problem in California

(By GEORGE DANIELS).

THE question of the Japanese in California appears to be passing now from a local matter affecting the State only to one of national importance. While perhaps not primarily a subject in which readers of the Railroader are particularly interested, yet the general question of the admission of Asiatics to this continent (a thing which is the concern of every one of us) is so bound up with it, that a few facts and figures regarding the state of affairs in California, where the issue is meantime a live one, may not be out of place.

British Columbians at any rate are sensitive enough on this question of Oriental immigration, and between Japanese, Chinese, Sikhs, and Hindus have material and to spare for sober reflection.

The subject of the Japanese in California and their rights and disabilities there is really one that calls for earnest thought, for on the correct handling of this problem a good deal may depend — more perhaps than is generally imagined.

## Where East Meets West.

The Pacific coast of North and South America presents a possibility of being the place where East and West are likely to overlap unless prompt measures are taken to ensure that no considerable body of Asiatics is allowed to take root and flourish in these parts. Higher opinion in this States inclines to the belief that if the question is handled wisely and energetically now there will be no ultimate issue, at all to vex posterity, certainly not in this country, and perhaps not anywhere else. But unless some steps are taken immediately it is felt that the matter is bound to come to a head.

For the present, however, as far as California is concerned it is claimed by men on the spot who have studied the subject for years that the question is entirely an economic one. The objection to the Japanese is not really so much on account of his inability to fuse ('unassimilability' is an altogether impossible word) with the general body of the people, for such a thing is quite within the bounds of physical possibility. "The Moors were to a large extent assimilated in Spain in days gone by," a representative of one of the big New York dailies said to me in discussing the matter. "And in certain South American countries to-day you will find the same assimilation going on. You will find full-blooded whites of Spanish descent and blacks and Indians mixing on terms of equality and even intermarrying. They have of course their upper and lower classes between whom there is frequently hatred enough — but it is not color or race that separates them. Here in California, however, the point is we do not want to assimilate the

Japanese whether it can be done or not."

## The Standard of Living.

The economic question involved is for the time being connected with a standard of living, for whatever the danger of the Japanese 'crowding out' the whites in years to be may become, it can hardly be contended that at this time there is not room and to spare in California for its present population. The standard of living set up by the Japanese is not a white man's standard nor one a white man could be expected to adopt. This standard of course means low costs and cheap prices. Even so, however, it is contended that there are many foreign assimilable peoples who are both better farmers and better neighbors than the Japanese, who can get as great yields of as good a quality of product, and who at the same time would increase the value of the land and enrich it, without any increase in cost of production. Italians, Belgians, Armenians and Greeks are said to be ready and willing to enter this truck farming business, as well as many native born Americans. But all these are meantime deterred by the Japanese already on the ground with his grip on the marketing end of the business.

## Robbing the Soil.

Up till last year the Japanese, under the law as it then existed, had only a three-year tenure of occupation under a lease. His practice, under such conditions, was to procure the richest and most fertile land possible and by the use of stimulating chemical fertilizers instead of sustaining humus, to get the greatest possible yields in the shortest possible time.

In this way they generally used up completely all organic matter within the soil, leaving it barren of plant food and totally unfit for immediate further productivity. They are even said in some cases to have used water to excess during the maturing of the final crop, thus water-logging the land and rendering it useless for years to come by bringing up subterranean alkali salts.

We in Canada have heard charges of a similar kind made against the Japanese in connection with the B. C. fisheries. Where the sole aim and object is to extract the uttermost ounce of yield in the shortest possible time nothing else is to be expected.

## Live for Themselves.

It is contended by the Japanese Exclusion League that in 1920 the subjects of the Mikado controlled one-eighth of the irrigated and fertile lands of California, the very richest of such lands, with consequent control of products and markets. According to recent statistics it is shown that the Japanese control 13 per cent. of the acreage in this State devoted to grapes and beans; 10 per cent. of the rice acreage; 91.8 per cent. of the acreage

devoted to berries; 89.2 per cent. of the celery acreage; 63.8 per cent. of the cantaloupe acreage; and 50 per cent. of the beet acreage. This might be considered bad enough; but it is not all.

For with it all the Japanese are still an alien people, the subjects of a foreign ruler, tribute not only in money but in military and naval service to their home land, and answerable to the call of its emperor. The Japanese in California are said to work in the very closest co-operation and to conduct their own banking, their own marketing agencies, their own price fixing organizations, and their own employment bureaus. They send the bulk of their savings to Japan.

## Most Prolific People.

Under a State Law passed by the California Legislature in 1913 Japanese, as aliens ineligible to citizenship, have not the right to own agricultural land in the State. Last year California amplified this law by the exercise of the initiative to the extent of repealing the privilege of short leases hitherto granted, it being contended that short leases were found in practice to become long leases through renewal, and that long leases gave the same control as ownership. The Japanese themselves of course are out for citizenship and the right to own land in the United States claiming that the nationals of other countries enjoy such privileges.

Then as to numbers and ratio of increase — an aspect of the business disquieting enough. According to the returns of the Federal Census Board of the fourteenth census of the United States there are now 70,196 Japanese in California

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out of a total population of 3,426,861, or slightly more than 2 per cent. There are 17,114 Japanese in the State of Washington, and 4,022 in Oregon a total in all of 91,332 of which 58,259 are males and 33,073 females. In Hawaii there are 109,269 Japanese.

These figures are said by the Census Board to be preliminary and not final, and it is indeed claimed by the California State Board of Control that the actual number of Japanese in California, as carefully ascertained by them, is 87,279 — some 16,000 more than the final Government figures. Although the rate of increase in the decade 1910-1920 shows a slight decrease from that of 1900-1910 the figures are still very significant, showing as they do that the Japanese population of California at any rate has practically doubled in the last ten years. What the next ten years will show one can easily speculate with so prolific a people.

## Japs Want Citizenship.

On the international aspect of the question it may not perhaps be politic to say much at this time except

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to note the strenuous and persistent efforts of the Japanese Government to have its subjects recognized as eligible for citizenship and other rights in the United States on the ground that such privileges are accorded to other nationals and that consequently they (the Japanese) are being unfairly discriminated against.

Not much is heard from this quarter of the rather important fact that Americans in Japan are not granted such rights.

As indicating, however, the unanimity of Pacific coast Americans on this subject it is significant to note that in recent times anti-alien land bills patterned on that of California have been introduced into the legislatures of Nevada, Colorado, Oregon, Idaho and Washington.

Yet at the same time it cannot be too emphatically laid down that the average American citizen, Pacific coast or otherwise, has no quarrel with the Japanese. It is simply felt by thoughtful men that he is not needed here and that every tillable acre of American soil is wanted for American people.

Until we on this continent have so contrived our political and industrial arrangements that every man, woman, and child either native born or of assimilable immigrant peoples is fed, housed, clothed, educated, and put on the road to an independent and proper life, there does not appear to be any sound reason for introducing into the country large bodies of aliens ineligible for ultimate citizenship and who cannot be fused into the general body of the nation. There is already one such body here, the blacks, who although admitted to citizenship and other rights are not being assimilated at the same time.

There are now some ten millions of these people in North America—and their number is ever on the increase. What is to be done with them ultimately cannot meantime be foreseen. It is felt by Californians that one such problem is enough. To add another may be something worse than folly.

GEORGE DANIELS

#### EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

(Land and Liberty, London).

In the course of the debate, the minister of labor gave the following appalling figures of unemployment. He said that the trade depression began to declare itself as far back as August last. By the middle of October the total number registered as unemployed was 350,000; by middle November, 473,000; December, 582,000; January, 842,000; in February they had grown to 1,039,000. These figures do not include a large number unemployed but not registered, nor dependents of the unemployed, and they are exclusive of people working on systematic short time, estimated now at about 600,000.

## NEW CITIZENS FOR CANADA.



With a population of less than two persons to the square mile compared to England's six hundred, with only five per cent. of her rich agricultural land in the West under cultivation, with a heavy national indebtedness and only a few people to pay the interest in the form of taxes, the reason why Canada is hungry for immigrants can readily be understood. Immigration is the human rain without which Canada must parch and wither up.

If Great Britain had a large surplus of farmers and farm hands, Canada might not have to invite immigrants from any other source. But Great Britain is not so much an agricultural as a merchant and manufacturing centre, and every year grudges more and more the farmers or farm hands who leave her Colonies for the Dominions. She is quite willing to send out countless city folk in the hope that they may be transformed into farmers in their new environment, but she has fewer farmers to spare than many other countries from which Canada in the past has drawn excellent settlers. This is illustrated by the homestead entries. From 1897 to 1919, only eighteen per cent. of the British immigrants made entry for homesteads in Western Canada as compared to twenty-seven per cent. of the American immigrants and twenty-nine per cent. of the foreign born from Continental Europe.

In certain parts of Europe where there is a genuine land hunger, there is not enough land to go round. Five or six acres per family is all the land available in certain parts of Belgium, and even on that the thrifty Belgian frequently brings up a family of ten. The great immigration of Ukrainians from Central Europe which has given Canada nearly 300,000 of her Western farm population was due to the constant subdivision of farms which were only fifteen acres to start with. These Ukrainians have become a great asset to Canada, and have at their own expense erected four large colleges for higher education. Then again we owe our fine stock of seventy thousand Scandinavian settlers to the lack of sufficient land in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland.

Have these foreign born made good Canadian citizens? Read "The Education of the New Canadian," by Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, of Saskatchewan, and you will say "Yes!" In one or two groups at first there was opposition to the learning of English, particularly among the older people, but now it is difficult to find sufficient teachers to meet the demands of the schools. And it is not only in the schools where you find the foreign born. More than half the students at the University of Manitoba are of foreign parentage. You find children of the foreign



#### The Immigrant Tide to Canada. Some Recent Pictures.

born as leaders in the professions and in the Cabinet of at least one Provincial Government.

Canada is after all only repeating on a larger scale the welcome to and the assimilation of the foreign born which has characterized the history of the Mother Country. The Flemish weavers and the Huguenots who found refuge in England, are but a few of the foreign born im-

migrants who helped to build up British industry. Canada's chief industry is agriculture, and her agricultural prosperity is due in no small degree to the thrifty and industrious new Canadians who have come to the wide acres of the West from the over-crowded lands of Europe and whose children to-day are proud to speak English and to sing "The Maple Leaf for Ever."—A.E.

## The "Expulsion" of McBride in the Scream of the Season.

(Jack Canuck).

YOU talk about your boomerangs! There never was so big a boomerang in the history of Canadian politics as that thrown by the so-called Independent Labor Party at its convention at Welland on Good Friday when it expelled M. M. McBride, M.L.A. for South Brant, from its membership. The first thought that came to the man on the street was how it was possible to expel a man who had already, months before, resigned in disgust from an organization which was proven to be not only financially but politically bankrupt.

Apart altogether from McBride's wisdom in coming out from amongst those who advocated red revolution in this constitutional Canada, the Simpsons, the Buckleys and the others of that ilk who made their little spiels and went through the posturings ordered by their masters at that Welland convention, said enough and did enough to sicken every red-blooded Canadian, and especially the real men who are behind the true Labor movement in Brantford and throughout the British province of Ontario.

It did not need Mr. McBride's designation of the Welland convention as the "red, yellow and drab" to have it made quite evident that the Labor party of Brantford was with the constitutional McBride and not with the revolutionary Simpson and the Buckley who was proud to describe himself as "the reddest of the red."

Brantford Labor is sane. The majority of its men proved that when they rallied to the flag and fought for freedom on the fields of France and Flanders, and the women proved it also by the real war work and not by their pandering to class calls or religious prejudices.

If the I. L. P. wants to expel Brantford Labor, Brantford Labor is quite ready to be expelled as McBride was expelled, because it had resigned from the I. L. P. just as soon as "M. M." left it.

The Labor men of Brantford believe in the fulfillment of pledges, not in their side-tracking for political reasons; theirs not to pass the buck from Ottawa to Toronto and back again.

They want to know where they stand, and, knowing, they are ready to stand there until they win their point, whether it means the defeat of the present conglomeration in Queen's Park, Toronto, or not. They stand for principle, not for philandering pretexts, and standing thus they are to a man against the Reds of the Welland convention and to a man and woman behind McBride.

If any of the Methodist opponents of the M. L. A. for South Brant sought to take any comfort out of the "expulsion" at Welland they have another think coming. It is to laugh; and the laugh will not be

with the "Expositor" and its Methodist friends when the showdown comes.

### LABOR AS AN INVESTMENT. (Locomotive Engineers' Journal).

The urgent need of the times to relieve the spirit of unrest in the industrial world is a little more common honesty on the part of the employing class, a willingness to recognize certain rights of labor now generally conceded as just by all fair-minded people.

Chief among these is the belief that labor is an investment. That the workman invests his labor just as a stockholder invests his money. Labor bears the same relation to industry that a locomotive does to its train.

We have ever been taught to regard investment as somewhat represented by money only, ignoring the fact that labor represents the productive force, the earning power of industry.

In view of the fact that the common rights of labor must receive recognition at the hands of the public through the laws of the country, it is necessary that public sympathy should be in accord with its desires which it rarely is to the extent it should, for want of means by which labor may present its case properly at the bar of public opinion.

The public usually hears but one side of the case when matters of difference between the employers and employees arise, for which reason it is often prejudiced against the latter, and if it is in any way inconvenienced by labor troubles, as when the fuel supply or rail transportation is stopped, these prejudices become confirmed.

If capital would recognize labor's right to compensation based on its value as an investment in industry, instead of regarding it as a commodity to be purchased at whatever price competition or other need might force it down to, then there would be little trouble adjusting the matter of wages and profits, but that possibility seems a long way off, so it is well, in the meantime, to pin our faith to the power of organization, as force combined with justice seems to be now, as ever, the most potent factor in world's progress.

### FIFTY-FIFTY.

In the sweet silence of the twilight they honeyspooned upon the beach.

"Dearest," she murmured tremblingly, "now that we are married I—I have a secret to tell you!"

"What is it, sweetheart," he asked softly.

"Can you ever forgive me for deceiving you?" she sobbed. "My—my left eye is made of glass."

"Never mind, lovebird," he whispered gently, "so are the diamonds in your engagement ring!"

### HOW PLUTES AMUSE THEMSELVES.

(The New Majority).

Now look at George Leary, Jr., society blade of New York. He is the fat boy in the middle of the group, wearing a "middy" blouse. George is one of the moneyed crowd seeking amusement at Palm Beach, Florida. Having no useful work to do in the world, these folk, who live off the fat skimmed from industry by the profiteers, while compelling the workers to submit to wage reductions and busting the unions with "open shop" drives, these folk have to make life tolerable for themselves by feverish attempts at amusement. Mr. Leary is giving a "Baby Ball" at which grown men and women will tog themselves out like kids and suck lolly-pops.

### A FAMOUS LOCOMOTIVE.

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tives in the world is old "999," that first drew the Empire State Express, and in May, 1893, pulled down all railroad records by doing 112.5 miles an hour. The engine arrived at the apex of its fame when a popular song was written around it and sung on vaudeville stage under the title, "Here Comes Old Nine-ninety-nine."

Although nearly thirty years in the service of the New York Central, the old locomotive is still doing duty and hauling a light passenger train between Avis and Clearfield. It has been renumbered, and is now known as 1086.

There is a movement on foot among the road's officials to have the old locomotive placed on a stand in the centre of Grand Central station, New York City, just as soon as the master mechanic announces that it is no longer good motive power for its present work.

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